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to do this, there is an evident determination among the people to do it for themselves. Gold, it is true, cannot prevent revulsion, but being more uniform in its movements than mere paper, our interests would no doubt be greatly promoted by making it the regulator of our monetary systems.

ART. IV. — *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1855–1858, with Accompanying Documents.*

THE improvement of the Indian tribes in the territory of the United States is a subject which appeals at once to the philanthropy and the statesmanship of the country. But the public mind slights it. We venture at this time to submit a few remarks in regard to the civilization of the Indians, and hope that, if they are of any worth, they may seasonably result in some practical good.

In the first place, it will be interesting to glance at the political condition of the Indians, our authority being the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States and the opinions of the Attorneys-General. The Indian tribes are considered, not as foreign nations, but as domestic dependent nations. Chief Justice Marshall says of them : —

“ Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian. They look to our government for protection ; rely upon its kindness and its power ; appeal to it for relief to their wants ; and address the President as their Great Father. They and their country are considered by foreign nations, as well as by ourselves, as being so completely under the sovereignty and dominion of the United States, that any attempt to acquire their lands, or to form a political connection with them, would be considered by all as an invasion of our territory, and an act of hostility.”

They have a possessory title to the lands they occupy, subject to the sovereign title existing in the government by right of discovery. But that title is considered as sacred as a title in fee simple, until it is extinguished by voluntary cession to the United States. Within their territory they can make laws for

their own government; but for acts done to our citizens in their territory they are answerable to our laws. They are not citizens, and cannot be naturalized under the general naturalization laws; neither are they capable of obtaining the public lands of the United States by pre-emption. We treat with them ostensibly as if they had the attributes of sovereignty; and yet they are virtually subjects. Our relations with them are peculiar, and such as are not known in the laws of nations. They resemble in some respects relations which existed under the patriarchal institutions of antiquity, and the best idea of which is perhaps conveyed in the common phrase of "our red children."* It may be further remarked, that Congress has declared that "all executory contracts made and entered into by any Indian for the payment of money, or goods, shall be deemed and held to be null and void, and of no binding effect whatsoever."

Of course the status of some tribes has been changed by treaty stipulations, as in the case of the Stockbridge Indians and the Wyandotts, who have been invested with citizenship.

It is estimated that there are now within the United States about one hundred different tribes or bands of Indians, exclusive of the remnants in the New England States, numbering in the aggregate from 320,000 to 350,000 souls. Of these there were in 1854 thirty-nine tribes, numbering 46,355, which received annuity payments from the government under treaties. The amount paid to them that year was \$ 680,000, which gave the average of \$ 14.66 for each Indian. Allowing five persons to a family, each family would on an average have received \$ 73.30. The Secretary of the Treasury stated in his Report for 1856, that in addition to the public debt "there is due under treaties with various Indian tribes, payable on time, the sum of \$ 21,066,501.36." This, he stated, arose out of the extinction of the Indian possessory title to the public lands, and is a charge on the annual sales. The estimate of annual expenses of the Indian department for 1856 was \$ 2,593,483.88. The army proper may almost be charged to our Indian expen-

* See *Cherokee Nation v. State of Georgia*, 5 Pet. Rep. 1; *Worcester v. State of Georgia*, 6 Pet. 515; *Johnson v. Mackintosh*, 8 Wheat. 543; *Opinions of Attorneys-General*, I. 465, 645; II. 402; VI. 49; VII. 746.

diture ; and the army estimate for the same year was more than twelve millions of dollars. Then there are to be considered various additional expenditures annually incurred on account of Indian troubles. For instance, a commission began in 1856, and sat more than a year, to "ascertain the sum of money fairly due to the volunteers of Oregon and Washington Territories for their services in the Indian wars which threatened to lay waste those Territories." And the Secretary of War informs us in his Report for 1857, that "the amount ascertained to be due is a very large one." In the Indian Deficiency Act of 1858, \$200,000 were appropriated "for restoring and maintaining, by peaceable measures, friendly relations with the Indian tribes in Oregon Territory," and \$20,000 to defray the expense of the several expeditions against Ink-padu-tah's band which committed the atrocities at Spirit Lake in Iowa. From these figures and items, cited at random, a general idea may be conveyed of the great expense the United States incur in respect to the Indians ; and we will hereafter show the disproportion between this expense and the good that ensues.

The character of the Indians and their capability of civilization are hardly yet, we think, understood and appreciated. When, in 1824, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions memorialized Congress on the subject of Indian civilization, they were met with the assertion, first, that their project was impracticable ; and, secondly, that, if carried out, it would destroy our valuable fur-trade ! Public opinion has advanced since that time ; but it is still a common opinion, that there are such inherent obstacles in the Indian's character that he cannot become a peaceable, industrious, and humane citizen. He is thought to be untamable. But, in fact, the main reason why the race has not advanced more is their ignorance. They have been ignorant of government ; with no law except that of retaliation ; and subject to no restraint except what might now and then be enforced by the genius and adroitness of a chief. In war they have exhibited no great capacity. In no instance have they planned and carried on a campaign with comprehensive skill, or with enterprise adequate to final success. Even the conspiracy of Pontiac,—

rescued from oblivion by a classic pen,— and the wars of the Six Nations, will bear us out in this remark. As their exploits have been characterized by wild ferocity, so their success has been the result of treachery. The disposition to take advantage by cheating or duplicity has always been a characteristic of an ignorant race. Thus, with the Indian it is a feat worthy of boasting, if he can fall on his enemy unawares; and it is a rare triumph indeed, if he can, by stealth, take a scalp and incur no danger. The case is the same as in ancient Crete, where, we are told, even theft was regarded as lawful when performed with skill. Quacks, indeed, have imposed on the public by vending so-called Indian medicines; but the Indians are sadly deficient in the healing art. Except for wounds, to cure which they have some vulnerary salve, they rely in sickness upon conjuration and necromancy; and how vain these remedies are, the ravages of disease among them have too often shown. In the domestic arts their knowledge is confined to the most simple tools and works. Their only successful manufactures are of beads and skins, except that among the Navajoes of New Mexico blankets of a very excellent quality are made.

There are other circumstances besides their ignorance which have contributed to their abject state. Their isolated condition and the smallness of their numbers have precluded the mutual intercourse, imitation, and rivalry which have been powerful aids to civilization in more populous states. Furthermore, their peculiar habits have held them back in barbarism. Their education, if it can be so termed, has kept them in intellectual nonage. The traditional stories and songs rehearsed in their wigwams celebrate the achievements, in war, of their ancestors. They learn to revere the memory and to emulate the example of him who has performed the most remarkable athletic feat, suffered the greatest exposure, or taken the largest number of scalps. They also aspire to oratory, and, while they are guiltless of the rhetorical atrocities often put into their lips by historians and novelists, their short, popular harangues are not without a certain rude eloquence. But manual toil they have not been taught to honor. "Labor to them," say Messrs. Cass and Clarke in their communication to the War Depart-

ment in 1829, "is a disgraceful employment ; and this sentiment, the cause or the consequence of their idleness and improvidence, encourages their attachment to war and hunting, the only occupations to which a warrior devotes himself." There is also equal truth in the following statement of the Commissioner, (Mr. Manypenny,) in his Report for 1856 : —

"As a man he [the Indian] has his joys and sorrows. His love for his offspring is intense. In his friendships he is steadfast and true, and will never be the first to break faith. His courage is undoubted, his perception quick, and his memory of the highest order. His judgment is defective, but by proper training and discipline his intellectual powers are susceptible of culture, and can be elevated to a fair standard. He can be taught the arts of peace, and is by no means inapt in learning to handle agricultural and mechanical implements, and applying them to their appropriate uses." — p. 22.

Undoubtedly the Indian is intensely fond of his offspring, and especially of his male children. But how is it with his wife, or *wives* (for the more he has, the greater man is he) ? The wife is compelled to do the drudgery of the *manège*, and is looked upon as immeasurably her lord's inferior. She is not even so far elevated as among the Oriental tribes, where woman is

"A toy for dotards' play,
To wear but till the gilding frets away."

This accounts in great part for the uncivilized condition which it indicates. "All great men," says Sir James Mackintosh, "have had able mothers." Surely no race or tribe of men, born of mindless and degraded women, was ever known to be enlightened. The most important part of a man's education is derived from the instruction and moral influence of his mother ; and before we can succeed in elevating the Indians to a fair standard, we must reform their domestic habits, and let the light of knowledge and religion shine in upon the hearts of their timid and benighted women.

Notwithstanding the excessive pride of the Indians, and their contempt for labor, they are ever ready to admit their poverty, and accept with strange satisfaction whatever charity bestows on them, be it a repast at the second table, a piece of tobacco, or an old garment. This admission of poverty will be noticed

in the following report of a dialogue, which took place at Washington two years ago, between the President and delegations of the Pawnee, Ponca, and Pottawatomie tribes.

“The meeting took place in the favorite east room of the White House, in the presence of a large number of interested spectators.

“The President, after the Indians had been separately introduced to him, said :—

“‘I am very glad to see you here, my children of the Far West. I have ever felt a deep interest in your welfare. You have come a great way to see me, and I give you a cordial welcome, and should be glad if you should explain to me what you desire me to do for you, and I should be glad to hear your suggestions.’

“The President’s remarks received frequent marks of approval from the Indians.

“La-sharo-larl-a-oo, or the ‘Big Chief,’ of the Pawnee delegation, spoke as follows :—

“‘My Grand Father, I have come a long ways to see you to-day ; and I am glad as well as you are. We would like to see you make haste and give us what is promised in the treaty, so that we may not be poor. I am very glad to see you in the situation that you are,—to see your fine dwelling-house, and that you are not poor. I do not think we will be poor and you will be the cause of it. I am in a hurry to get back and tell the news that we will not be poor.’

“Na-sharo-ce-ted-a-co, also of the Pawnees, came forward, and spoke as follows :—

“‘Since I have seen you, I think I will not be poor hereafter. I come here to-day, and look about and see your splendid mansion, and it surprises me ; but still I know a white man can do anything and make anything, and I hope we will be put in the way to do these things, and not be poor. I hope you will take pity on us that we may not be poor, and may get all that is promised in the treaty.’

“Na-hock-tara-wa-sharo, also of the Pawnees, was the next speaker, as follows :—

“‘I am a young man,—not quite a man, for you can see my naked skin, which is smooth,—and I hope you will take pity on me. I have the prospect of being made a white man if I am spared. It makes me have a big heart to-day to see you, and I think I will not be poor hereafter.’

“Wae-gah-sah-pi, or ‘The Whip,’ a chief of the Ponca tribe, said :—

“‘My Grand Father, I call you Grand Father for no other reason than this : God made me of one color and you of another ; but God

was partial to you, and made you of a better color. You came into existence, and so did I. It was the will of the Great Spirit that we both came into existence. We have never had a chance to see our Grand Father until this time, and I am very glad you asked me to visit you. It was the will of the Great Spirit that made you more powerful than me; it was the will of the Great Spirit that you should take this land from us,—this land that you stand on to-day belongs to me. You are a man, my Grand Father, and so am I. Everything that you have made, Grand Father, is worthy of attention,—is worthy of looking at. There is one thing that attracts the eye more than anything else, and I hope you will give me plenty of it,—money! We want money, my Grand Father. With it we can get anything we want. We do not want goods; but if you give us money, we can buy what we please, and it lasts longer. My Grand Father, we want all the tools of the white men. We want the blacksmiths, the farmers, the millers, &c. to live with us, and hope you will open your heart to us to-day. My Father, I do not speak from the end of my tongue; it comes from the bottom of my heart, and I hope that what you say will come from the bottom of your heart.’

“Me-she-ke-ah, of the Pottawatomie Indians, said:—

“‘For years past you have been advising our people to reform, and to assume other habits from what they had before, and to give themselves to work and imitate the white people. This has been your advice to us for years past. Prosperity has been with you. We wish prosperity to live with our people. We have come with the full intention of getting those things which are within treaty stipulations, to enable us to go on with our work. I am going to lay down my gun, and pursue something else for a livelihood.’”

The President, in his reply to these speeches, gave them some sensible advice:—

“‘I am glad to see you all on this bright and beautiful day, and hope the Great Spirit is smiling on our meeting, and that henceforth this meeting may be the sign of peace between the red children and the white children and the Great Spirit above.

“‘Why is it that our red brethren are poor? I will tell them how to become rich. They will always be poor while they live by the chase and make war upon each other,—whilst they live in this way they must be poor. The white men are rich because they work, because they plough the soil, and sow the grain, and reap the harvest, and live in their own houses. If the Indians will follow their example they will be rich too, because the Great Spirit looks down with the same

kindness upon his red and his white children ; for they are all brethren, and without work no man can become rich.

“ ‘It is my desire that my red children should have separate houses of their own ; that they should have their own land in their own place ; that their young men should learn the useful trades of blacksmiths, carpenters, and millers, and have all the comforts of the white man ; and whenever they shall do this — and they have it in their power to do it — I will always protect them in it.

“ ‘I have one request to make of my children of the Pawnee and the Ponca tribes, and if it is granted it will make me very happy, and I will feel that their Great Father and my Great Father will approve of the deed. I understand that these tribes — both brave men, all brave men — have been at war ; and whilst they are at war with each other they can never improve their condition ; and I pray that the Great Spirit may at this moment appear before me ; and, I being a party to it, I hope that he may cause them to make peace and shake hands with me, and shake hands with each other in token of perpetual peace among each other.’

“ The President at this point stretched out both his hands, and invited the representatives of the Pawnee and Ponca tribes to make peace, which they most willingly did ; and a more hearty shaking of hands or more satisfied body of Indians cannot readily be conceived. At the conclusion of this part of the ceremony, the President said : —

“ ‘I hope this peace will last as long as the sun shines and the rivers run.’ ”

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that all the efforts of the government and of private philanthropy have thus far availed but little towards civilizing the Indians. The wild tribes that have been left to their own resources are probably better clothed and fed, and altogether more creditable members of the human family, than the majority of those which, by treaty stipulations, have come under the direct influence of the government. The latter have received enough aid to make them dependent, to relax their vigor, and hasten their decay. They are not wholly exempt from our authority, and yet are not brought under the wholesome restraint imposed on our own citizens. Instead of being governed by our laws, they are kept in awe by our arms. They are confined within limits too small for prosperous hunting, and too large to conduce to their ambition as agriculturists. They are brought into con-

tact with the whites just enough to catch their vices, and to learn to despise them. Prone to idleness, they are also victims of intemperance and of contagious disease, and seem to be lingering out an existence as wretched to themselves as it is unprofitable to the world. Yet our government has not been unkind to them, unless we may call indifference unkindness. For years and years they have furnished ample topics of pathetic rhetoric for our statesmen, who have declared with Delphic gravity that the only way to save the Indians was to teach them the arts of civilized life. For many years the policy pursued was to get rid of them by removals. This answered till it began to be apparent that our emigration would extend even to the Pacific, and cover the whole domain of the West. In 1826 the Secretary of War (Mr. Barbour) submitted with his report the outlines of a bill, whose provisions he recommended as tending to their civilization. It provided that the country west of the Mississippi, and beyond the States and Territories, and the territory east of the Mississippi and west of Lakes Huron and Michigan, should be set apart for their exclusive abode; that they should be removed as individuals, and not as tribes; that a territorial government should be maintained by the United States; and that there should be an extinction of tribes, if circumstances should justify it, an amalgamation of the whole into one body, and a distribution of property among its individual members. He also recommended that, as soon as the civilization of the Indians would admit of it, they should have a legislative assembly, composed of Indians, to be selected in the early stages by the President, and eventually to be chosen by themselves.

A bill somewhat more practicable in its provisions was introduced into the House of Representatives in 1834, providing for the establishment of an Indian Territory west of the Mississippi, extending from the Platte River on the north, and the State of Missouri and the Arkansas Territory on the east, to the Spanish possessions south and west. It was the plan of the government to persuade all the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi to migrate to that territory, and settle as a confederacy of tribes. The bill provided a government for the confederacy, to be established with the consent of all the

Indian chiefs, and to be governed by the chiefs, under the control and patronage of the United States. It also provided that the territory might be represented by a delegate in Congress. The bill was laid on the table, and never called up. Nor has any general law been passed to promote the civilization of these tribes. A common expedient to which the government has resorted to keep peace among them has been to make them presents. But the President tells us, in his Message for 1857, that this system "has proved ineffectual." During the administration of General Pierce, the policy began to be adopted of concentrating the tribes on reservations for their permanent homes. In 1854 and 1855 several treaties were made with different tribes, in which was a provision substantially like the following :—

"That at such time or times as the President may deem advisable, the land herein provided to be selected as their future home, or such portion thereof as may be necessary, shall be surveyed ; and the President shall from time to time, as the Indians may desire it, assign to each head of a family, or single persons over twenty-one years of age, a reasonable quantity of land, in one body, not to exceed eighty acres in any case, for their separate use ; and he may at his discretion, as the occupants thereof become capable of managing their business and affairs, issue patents to them for the tracts so assigned to them respectively ; said tracts to be exempt from taxation, levy, sale, or forfeiture, until otherwise provided by the legislature of the State in which they may be situated, with the assent of Congress ; nor shall they be sold or alienated, in fee, within fifteen years after the date of the patents, and not then without the assent of the President of the United States being first obtained." — *Treaty with the Winnebagoes, 27th February, 1855.*

This would seem to be a wise provision ; but we have yet to learn that it has in a single instance, under any treaty, been carried into effect.

Here we might pause to inform our readers how Indian treaties are *made*. We cannot indulge them with any satisfactory statement as to the manner in which such treaties are *fulfilled*. If the tribe is very remote and wild, the practice is to send out an agent or commissioners, with a large quantity of presents, and accompanied by an interpreter and witnesses.

If the presents are well selected and sufficiently numerous, a treaty is certain. The favorite plan, however, is to have delegations of Indians go to Washington and treat with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. This is done if the tribe is not very populous. But it is often a source of jealousy and trouble in the tribe, it being almost as difficult for them to select delegates having the confidence of the whole body, as for their white neighbors to choose satisfactory representatives. To obviate this difficulty as far as possible, they send as many delegates as the government will provide for from the public chest. The delegation is often detained in Washington more than a month before the treaty is concluded. The government agent and interpreter attend them during their sojourn at the capital, and they are sure to receive a share of favorable attention on public occasions and at the President's levees.

We have not directly said, but we wish it to be fully understood, that, in our opinion, the Indians are capable of being educated and civilized. We do not mean merely that they can be induced to adopt the domestic and social habits of white men,—to till the soil, learn the mechanic arts, and engage in trade. We believe that they can be brought up to that supreme standard of civilization which is inculcated in the precepts of Christianity. Nor have they shown any absolute repugnance to being civilized. Some tribes, indeed, have, from the force of example, wrought out their own reformation. The remnants of the Six Nations in New York, the Choctaws, Cherokees, and other tribes west of Arkansas, not to mention some tribes in Kansas, have exhibited an inclination to industry and a capacity for self-government and self-restraint which would be creditable to any community. That others have not improved is owing principally to the inefficiency of the means applied, and to a want of system in their appliance. When, more than twenty years ago, a missionary went among the Chippewas of Lake Superior, the chiefs said to him: "We will give you a home among us, and you shall be secure. You may instruct our children, but we cannot spend time to be educated; we must hunt. The traders will not take our education in payment for blankets and provisions."

There are many remote tribes which cannot be expected

soon to be brought under the influence of civilizing agencies. All that can be demanded of the government at present in respect to them, is that they shall keep the peace with one another, and cease from their depredations upon our emigrants and travellers. With all these tribes, or nearly all, the United States have made treaties of amity and peace. Being under no pecuniary obligation to them, the government has had no means of controlling them beyond the effect of a few presents and of military force. Both these means have been too sparingly employed to serve a useful purpose. The army is too small to operate as a police force over so vast a territory. One or two companies, in the extreme wilderness, among ten thousand Indians, are more likely to be awed than to inspire awe. The Indians seldom see enough of our force to respect it. Hence the protracted, expensive, inglorious, skirmishing wars that have occurred, and still continue in Texas and New Mexico. Our readers may remember an occurrence in 1854, at Fort Laramie, in the western part of Nebraska. There was but one company stationed there, and that was not a full one. The Indians had often plundered the Mormon and other emigrants who passed, and, when remonstrated with, had even threatened to "wipe out" the fort itself. At length notice was taken of a particularly bold trespass, and a lieutenant was ordered, with a detachment of twenty men and a field-piece, to approach the camp of the Indians and seize the offender. His delivery was refused. The lieutenant ordered the field-piece to be discharged, which was done, and in a few moments the Indians, returning the fire, killed the entire detachment save one, who, wounded, dragged himself to the fort to tell the story of their fate. Then followed, the next year, General Harney's expedition against the Sioux, resulting in his chastisement of them at Ash Hollow. The existence of permanent posts, thus scantily garrisoned, has been so utterly unavailing to keep the Indians under control, that some have urged the discontinuance of this policy. One officer of great experience (General Jesup) considers that the better use of our small army would be to withdraw it entirely from the Indian country; when the Indians deserve chastisement, to send a sufficient force among them thoroughly to quell and punish them;

and never to permit them to see or encounter our arms, unless in sufficient strength to overawe and subdue them. With much deference to the opinion of so sagacious a soldier, we would urge that there should be established an increased number of military posts, and that they should have men enough to protect, by their presence and the known prestige of their strength, the country surrounding them. It occurs to us, also, that it would not be impracticable to curtail the expense of the transportation and subsistence of the army, by producing on the military reservations, under the patronage of the government, the forage and provisions necessary for the several posts. This might be effected in part by Indian labor. When our white citizens commit crimes, they forfeit their liberty and are obliged to serve the public. Why should the Indians escape a similar punishment if they violate their treaties of peace? Let the experiment be tried of compelling those who are captured to labor for a certain period of time. At any rate, the cause of humanity demands that the different tribes shall desist from their hostilities among themselves and their attacks upon peaceable emigrants. As the guardian of the weaker and innocent tribes, and as the power pledged to secure the neutrality of the great highways across our territory, the government is under the most solemn obligations to see that this is done; and we cannot but believe that the most economical way of doing it is to increase the number and strength of our military posts.

It has been remarked, that the *theory* on which the government now proceeds towards the half-civilized or annuity-receiving tribes is to retain them permanently on reservations. The practice of removing tribes has of course retarded their improvement. A tenant at will does not take so much interest in an estate as the owner. Could it be expected that Indians would take much interest in cultivating land which they were destined to abandon to others? Assure them they are to remain on their farms, and that their children will inherit and enjoy their improvements, and they will be incited to labor. Their reservations should be surveyed and distributed among them, so they may know what is their own. They have generally had the privilege of selecting their locations from excel-

lent land. It was so with the Winnebagoes in Minnesota, and the Shawnees, Kickapoos, and Delawares in Kansas. The latter selected for themselves a reservation in the valley of the Kansas River, including as luxuriant, diversified, and well-timbered a tract as could be found in the territory. When the tribes are once located, a deaf ear should be turned to all propositions for the sale of their reserves, unless it be of a surplus portion. As settlements surround them, their lands will rise in value, and many will be eager to buy them; while there will always be some discontented Indians, who will be willing to remove for the sake of the money their lands will bring. White settlers, who voluntarily emigrate to the neighborhood of the Indians, with a strange inconsistency, are often found clamorous for their removal. This absurd disposition lately received a sharp rebuke from the Dacotah tribes, who memorialized the President to remove the *whites* to the east side of the Mississippi!

But on the subject of reservations let the Commissioner himself speak:—

“I concur fully with those of my predecessors who have stated that there have been two great and radical mistakes in our system of Indian policy,—the assignment of an entirely too large body of land in common to the different tribes which have been relocated, and the payment of large money-annuities for the cessions made by them,—the first tending directly to prevent the Indians from acquiring settled habits and an idea of personal property and rights, which lie at the very foundation of all civilization. . . . With large reservations of fertile and desirable land, entirely disproportioned to their wants for occupancy and support, it will be impossible, when surrounded by a dense white population, to protect them from constant disturbance, intrusion, and spoliation by those on whom the obligations of law and justice rest but lightly, while their large annuities will subject them to the wiles and machinations of the inhuman trafficker in ardent spirits, the unprincipled gambler, and the greedy and avaricious trader and speculator. Their reservations should be restricted so as to contain only sufficient land to afford them a comfortable support by actual cultivation, and should be properly divided and assigned to them, with the obligation to remain upon and cultivate the same.” — *Report for 1857*, p. 4.

All this is very just. But it rests with the executive branch

of the government to carry this theory into practice ; and especially is the Indian Bureau responsible for a practical realization of its maxims on the subject of reservations.

Let us now suppose that a tribe is located, in pursuance of the foregoing theory, on a reservation adapted to its numbers. This, the Indians are told, is to be their home. We will imagine that they have ceased to smear their faces with paint ; that they have laid aside their bows and their loose blankets. Still the agents, the missionaries, and the teachers report that intemperance is working fearful destitution and misery among them ; that it is more injurious to them than it ever was among civilized white men, because it is among the Indians almost a universal vice. The question arises, Can anything further be done to save them from this danger ? The penalty for selling or furnishing ardent spirit to the Indians is five hundred dollars. The agent or any Indian can destroy liquor illegally carried into the Indian country, and Indians are made competent witnesses in prosecutions under the statute. These are the principal or only remedies ; and the consequence is that the law is frequently evaded. We think that the agent should be clothed with some judicial authority, and that a more summary process should be authorized to reach the wanton offender who is instrumental in furnishing "fire-water" to the Indian. If the penalty were less for the first offence, doubtless convictions could be more certainly secured. This subject demands the prompt attention of Congress.

The abolition of money-annuities would indirectly aid in suppressing intemperance. We could produce the testimony of every government officer or missionary, who has had any experience among the Indians, to prove that it is absolute folly to pay them money. There are some doubtless who turn it over to the trader for a fair equivalent. But generally it all goes in mass, and it does the Indians more harm than good. Instead of money, the treaties should provide for the payment for their lands in goods, provisions, and the means of education. This reform rests with the executive.

But how shall we break up the community system ? The Indians virtually live in common. If one Indian is industrious and accumulates something for the future, the others, no mat-

ter how indolent they may have been, regard him as a mean fellow if he does not freely share it with them. This of course discourages individual effort, and takes away the chief stimulus to industry. Probably the survey and distribution of their reserves in severalty will contribute much to break up this system. We believe, however, that the main cause of this mode of living has been their tribal wars. Dreading an attack from a hostile tribe, they unite together in villages, and have all things in common. What renders these attacks doubly aggravating and horrid, is the fact that the innocent are liable to suffer for the provocation given by others. Witness the sickening brutality of a stealthy attack made on a Chippewa family near Crow Wing, in the spring of 1858, by a party of Sioux. The following is from an authentic report of the massacre, written the day after it occurred.

“Ottawa, a Chippewa past middle age, had been out with his family for several days, making maple-sugar. Hearing that the Sioux were about, they came into town with what sugar they had, being over two hundred pounds. This was quickly disposed of for whiskey. Their lodge was on the island at the mouth of Crow Wing River, just opposite the village, and was very much exposed to any stealthy attack. In fact, Ottawa's friends had advised him to move from the island on account of the suspicious proximity of the Sioux. But he replied that he had a spear and could kill a Sioux. At about one last night, the report of guns at their lodge, and the cries of the murdered, were heard on this side of the river. It was discovered early this morning, that the whole family, eleven in all, were horridly butchered. Nine were dead, all were scalped, and the heads of some cut off and carried away. The youngest, a child, with its stomach cut open, was yet alive, but its tortures were ended by the friendly blow of a Chippewa. The mother, the squaw, was stabbed, shot, and scalped.” — *Correspondence of the (St. Paul) Pioneer and Democrat.*

Can it be expected that Indians will live separately from one another, and cultivate their farms, if they are to be liable to such havoc as this? Before the community system can be broken up, and thus the first important step taken for their civilization, a stop must be put to the tribal wars. The government must inspire them with confidence that they will be safe. We will not attempt to say, in detail, how this is to be done.

One means will be to require the agent to be constantly on the reservation with them. He should have sufficient military force to enable him to prevent war-parties from sallying out upon other tribes. When depredations are committed, the offenders should be pursued and brought to punishment, instead of holding the whole tribe responsible. We doubt if the Indians who committed the massacre above narrated have even been reprimanded for their atrocious act. Certainly they might have been detected ; for they went through the settlements to their home, carrying their fresh scalps in a bag, and proudly exhibiting them as honorable trophies.

After making it for the interest and convenience of the Indians to labor, it will be comparatively easy to educate them, and to foster among them habits of self-reliance and self-restraint. The efforts to give them a literary education have most forcibly shown that "a little learning is a dangerous thing." In most of the half-civilized tribes, the individuals who have received some book-learning have generally proved rogues, and exerted a bad influence. But these results, instead of discouraging the efforts of sensible and philanthropic men, will only impel them to greater exertions. The ignorant cannot appreciate the advantage of education, and never, of their own accord, will strive for it. This has been the case with the Indians. When missionaries and teachers have gone among them, and offered to instruct their young, they have appeared to think that they were doing the teacher a favor in sending their children to school, even when the children were fed and clothed without expense to themselves. The general fund for the education of the Indians was created by the act of 1819, which provided an annual appropriation of \$10,000. During some years since that enactment, not more than half of the appropriation has been expended. The Commissioner states, in a communication to the Secretary of the Interior, November 20, 1855, that for the previous ten years the amount drawn from that fund was \$102,107.14 ; and that the aggregate amount expended for educational objects during that period was \$2,150,000, of which the sum of \$830,000 had been contributed by private benevolence.

The reports for many years past exhibit very imperfect re-

turns as to the number of pupils who have attended school. It appears that in 1828 the whole number of pupils in all the Indian schools was 1,291. There was but a small increase in the number till 1842, when the number returned was 2,132. In 1848 the number was 3,682. In 1853 it was 3,302. It does not appear how many of these were of either sex. The reports are exceedingly meagre and incomplete, and indicate that little or no interest is taken in the subject at the Indian Bureau. Good success has attended manual-labor schools as a means of literary instruction. On such means the country must rely for the education of the rising generation of these tribes. It is no longer a matter of experiment; for where the system has been applied with fidelity and patience, the best results have ensued. If more money should be appropriated and carefully expended for the education of the Indians, it would prove in the end wise economy.

Whether our Indian policy remains unchanged or not, it is certain that the success of any civilizing measures will depend to a very great extent on the powers and exertions of the agents or other officers who are brought into direct intercourse with the Indians, and who are charged with the execution of those measures. Within a few years the government has withdrawn some of the trusts before reposed in the agents. As men they perhaps have had too much patronage, though as officers they have too little power. The Commissioner says:—

“Power should be conferred on the agents to eject summarily all intruders from the reservations. They should also be clothed with executive and judicial authority in matters pertaining to their agencies, and appeals from their decisions be allowed to the superintendents, and thence to the Department.” — *Report*, 1857, p. 5.

Formerly agents were permitted to make the annuity-payments; but now the Department imposes this duty on the superintendents. This is a significant fact, which admits of but one construction. It is certainly entirely inconsistent with the general theory of the government, that it should be represented among the different tribes by men who do not deserve its entire confidence. The salary of the agent is fif-

teen hundred dollars per annum, and he is required to reside among the Indians. How is it that prominent and influential men seek such offices from mere pecuniary motives? It is because they find opportunities to make money. Burke would have had much less indignation against the plunder of the Carnatic, if he could have foreseen the thrift which follows in the wake of one of our Indian agents. It is calculated that an agent can make a fortune during a term of four years; but how they can do it remains a mystery. One way, of course, is to impose on the Department by false vouchers. In one instance an appropriation was made for a certain amount of agriculture for a tribe. A piece of ground was to be broken. The agent employed a friend to do this work, paying him the nominal price of sixty dollars an acre. Yet the "breaking" consisted merely of ploughing a piece of land which had once before been broken. Out of such a job the agent would perhaps make several hundred dollars. These officers are selected, not on account of any peculiar administrative ability, nor yet for their philanthropy, but because they have done some service for their party. Occasionally upright and estimable men are appointed; but, however useful, they are liable to be removed through party influence, to give place to one who may be dishonest or incapable. The Indians form their opinion of the government from the capacity and character of the agent. It is of the greatest importance that he should be a trustworthy, able, and energetic man. Admitting him to be fit for the office, we think that he should be clothed with more authority. If the government has the right to keep military posts in the Indian country to awe and restrain them, it has the right to be represented there by a civil officer who has power to enforce just and wise regulations. It is necessary that the influence of the government should operate more directly upon the Indians. Our policy for their civilization should be carried out with more zeal than has heretofore been evinced. Instead of being passive and indifferent, it should be active and earnest, with a view to far higher results than have been realized or attempted.

Our object in what we have written has been to render service to a race which has both inflicted and suffered many

wrongs. In our judgment, no documents issued from the executive departments of our government are more interesting, or more deserving of general attention, than the Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the accompanying documents. These latter consist of the reports of the several superintendents, agents, and teachers. No one can peruse them without becoming deeply interested in the condition of the Indians.

May we not hope that Congress, before the present session expires, will give candid and patient deliberation to the duties and interests involved in this important subject?

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- ART. V. — 1. *George Canning and his Times*. By AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE STAPLETON. London: John W. Parker and Son. 1859. 8vo. pp. xviii. and 614.
2. *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin: comprising the celebrated Political and Satirical Poems, Parodies, and Jeux d'Esprit of the RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING and others*. With Explanatory Notes by CHARLES EDMONDS. Second Edition, considerably enlarged. With six Etchings by the famous Caricaturist JAMES GILLRAY. London: G. Willis. 1854. 16mo. pp. xvi. and 248.
3. *The Speeches of the RIGHT HONORABLE GEORGE CANNING*. With a Memoir of his Life by R. THERRY, ESQ., of Gray's Inn, Barrister at Law. London: James Ridgway. 1828. 6 vols. 8vo.

MR. STAPLETON was for several years private secretary to Mr. Canning, and he is also known as the author of a "Political Life of Canning from 1822 to his Death." This work, which was published nearly thirty years since, is a production of ability, and the authenticity of its materials renders it of permanent value; but it is fragmentary in design, and partisan in tone. "George Canning and his Times" is based partly on personal recollections and partly on Mr. Canning's private papers, and it is open to the same criticism as the earlier